

Reflections of *Asabiyyah* Effect on Social Differentiation in Social Media: The Case of the July 15th Military Coup Attempt

Toplumsal Ayrışmada Asabiyet Etkisinin Sosyal Medyadaki Yansımaları: 15 Temmuz Kalkışması Örneği

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Abstract

During the July 15th Coup Attempt in Turkey, many firsts were experienced. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey and other state buildings were bombed by Turkish warplanes led by putschist pilots, the civilians were fusilladed intensively and their resistance was strong and uncompromising. Yet, the media subordinate to the putschists in previous coup attempts played a crucial role in the failure of the putschists in this coup attempt. Just after the President's call to civilians for resistance in the squares, many people, who were organized in the social media platforms, shielded themselves against soldiers and tanks immediately, but the soldiers of junta could manage to kill 173 civilians. Meanwhile, another part of the society kept their silence and went to ATMs or markets in fear of a probable war. When the activities in the social media within the process of the coup attempt are considered, it can be figured out that both parts of the society were influenced by the social media contents and that they acted accordingly. An in-depth analysis of the elements that affect the perception, and reactions within these two different segments of the society, attitude-development and action-taking of these two parts is vital for the prevention of such attempts which have the power to directly influence the well-being of the country and the peace of the society. For this purpose, in this study, social media activities and the reactance of the masses pre – and intra-coup attempt are analyzed. Two hashtags and two visual contents representing the different reflections of the process of the 15th of July Coup Attempt in the social media are analyzed through Roland Barthes's Semiological Denotation/Connotation Model, and the role of the media in the assumption of different attitudes of the masses are examined by scrutinizing the different attitudes of both pro – and against-government parties

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and the collective actions through the *Asabiyyah* theory of Ibn Khaldun. Findings summarizes factors that are threatening the social peace and reinforcing discrimination; and furthermore, they show why it is important to adopt the *Asabiyyah* theory to understand such social events.

Keywords: Social Media, July 15th, *Asabiyyah*, Ibn Khaldun, Semiology

Öz

15 Temmuz kalkışmasında önemli ilkler yaşanmıştır ve bunlardan en göze çarpanı da meclis binası başta olmak üzere bazı önemli kamu binalarının orduya ait hava araçlarıyla ilk defa vurulmuş olduğu gerçeğidir. Yine bu kalkışma sırasında ilk defa sivillere bu kadar yoğun bir biçimde yayılım ateşleri açılmış, buna mukabil sivil halkın direnişi de ilk defa bu kadar sert ve ödünsüz olmuştur. Önceki darbelerde darbecilerin kontrolüne giren kitle iletişim araçları, bu kalkışmada darbeciler tarafından kontrol altına alınamaması darbe girişiminin başarısız olmasında büyük rol üstlenmiştir. Cumhurbaşkanı'nın vatandaşları meydanlara direniş için davet etmesiyle kısa sürede sosyal medyada örgütlenen çok sayıda kişi kısa sürede tankların ve silahlı askerlerin önüne kendilerini siper etmiş, silahlı saldırılar sonucunda 173 sivil şehit olmuştur. Bütün bunlar olurken başka bir kesim de yaşananlara sessiz kalmış veya ATM'lere ve marketlere olası bir iç savaş tehdidi nedeniyle akın etmiştir. Kalkışma sürecinde sosyal medyadaki hareketlilik dikkate alındığında bu iki kesimin de sosyal medyada üretilen içeriklerden etkilendikleri ve buna paralel davranışlarda buldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Her iki grubun olayları kavrama, tutum edinme ve davranışta bulunma sürecine etki eden unsurları çözümlmek, ülkenin refahına ve toplum barışına doğrudan etki edebilecek güçteki bu tarz girişimlerin önlenmesi için elzemdir. Bu amaçla gerçekleştirilen çalışmada kalkışma süreci ve sonrasındaki sosyal medya hareketliliği kitlelerin olaylara gösterdikleri tepkilerle birlikte analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmada 15 Temmuz kalkışması sürecinde yaşananların sosyal medyadaki farklı yansımalarını temsil eden iki adet etiket (*hashtag*) ve iki adet görsel, R.Barthes'in Göstergebilimsel Düz/Yan Anlam Çözümlemesi yöntemiyle ele alınırken hükümete yakın ve muhalif çevrelerin birbirinden farklı tutumlar takınması ve sergilenen kolektif eylemler de İbn Haldun'un Asabiyet Kuramı çerçevesinde incelenerek kitlelerin birbirinden farklı tavırlar takınmasında medyanın rolü analiz edilmiştir. Bulgular, ülkemizdeki toplumsal barışı tehdit eden ve ayrımcılığı pekiştiren unsurları özetlemekte; ayrıca Asabiyet Kuramının özellikle ülkemizdeki toplumsal olayları çözümlenmede ne kadar önemli bir yöntem olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Medya, 15 Temmuz, Asabiyet, İbn-i Haldun, Göstergebilim

Ibn Khaldun, *Asabiyyah* and Umran

It is not convenient to describe Ibn Haldun; whose work is appreciated from middle ages to today, from North Africa to Souteast Asia, with categories such as a sociologist, a historian , a political scientist. Contary to his (more or less) contemporaries, Ibn Haldun shifted his attention from “what it should be” to “what it is”. Therefore his work is focused to “street” and “rural” rather than palace windows. Ibn Khaldun does not offer any solution on society unlike his contemporaries. Lacoste (1993) recognizes Ibn Khaldun as a scientist rather than a philosopher, as a result of his methods and objectives (pp. 154-156). Furthermore, Garrison (2012) compares him with Hobbes, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Hegel, indicating that Ibn Khaldun's contribution to social and political theory is as great as his contemporaries (pp. 4-9).

In his *Mukaddime*, as an encyclopedia on social sciences, Ibn Khaldun tries to understand and model societies that separate and reunite (Canatan, 2016, p. 202). In this encyclopedia, Ibn Khaldun's

purpose is to explain the history through his observations on publics and governments rather than to introduce and describe them (Toku, 2002, p. 75). He primarily embraces history as a social/public history, thus the main point in his writings are societies themselves. Ibn Khaldun posits a dynamic existence of a society. At this point, the main element behind his postulation emerges: his method of *ilm-i umran*, or social science.

In the preface of his translation of *Mukkadime*, Süleyman Uludağ (2012) states that Ibn Khaldun uses the term *umran* as an activity building civilization that leads to civil life. Therefore, *ilm-i umran* is an explanation to both civilization and civil life, consequently an explanation to sociology. Toku (2002) indicates that *ilm-i umran* is a historical norm and knowledge of society (pp. 76-79). Laroussi Amri (2008) explains that Ibn Khaldun observes the movement from the rural to the cities and the world he is in, practically by his own point of view. Amri repeatedly points out that Ibn Khaldun's *umran* is an ongoing process rather than a stationary output. What is implied by *umran* is both social life and organization. In other words, *umran* is forms of relationships shaped by social organizations (pp. 345-349). In this regard, Toku (2002) underlines a critical point by stating that *ilm-i umran* is not just about civilization and politics-therefore it is not just about governments. *Ilm-i umran* has a much bigger frame. In this frame, the concept of *asabiyyah-asabiyet*, *asabiyya*, group feeling – is a fundamental term (pp. 83-93).

Asabiyyah is a model developed by Ibn Khaldun in order to explain the social relations, forms of relations, social life, the organization of and history of the societies. This model is created with induction method, instead of deduction. This method does not have strict rules and it is durable against time and place. Ibn Khaldun indicates that people build unity with social connection and relations and this unity lead people to protect and defend each other and take joint action together (Uygun, 2008, pp. 34-35). Core of *asabiyyah* is this spirit of this unity.

Ülken and Findiklioğlu (1940) explain *asabiyyah* as a social power that nomads use in fight to replace modern people. According to Ülken and Findiklioğlu (1940), Uygun (2008) and Hassan (2010), source of *asabiyyah* splits in two: ancestry solidarity and religious-ideological solidarity. Ancestry solidarity sets up itself based on being/having same ancestry. People of the same ancestry protect and defend each other. Ibn Khaldun indicates that this structure is natural. People will defend and protect the ones against any attack or danger who share the same ancestors, without hesitation or questioning (Uygun, 2008, pp. 40-41). Ibn Khaldun states that *asabiyyah* is stronger in nomad societies, therefore they are more brave and protective and the unity is much stronger (Hassan, 2010). Uygun (2008) and Hassan (2010) agree on Ibn Khaldun's statement that difficult conditions require stronger unity and *asabiyyah*. Therefore, nomads equipped with stronger *asabiyyah* comparing to sedentary society. Hassan (2010) indicates that there is a correlation between the Ibn Khaldun's *asabiyyah*, feel of comradeship, collective movement and bravery, brotherhood, equality in bedouinity (pp. 42, 78, 159-160, 178). The power behind the public occasions is unity. Solidarity always plays a role in the social bond of prairie and cities and rises and falls of states. Ancestry solidarity is more powerful in rural societies than the urban societies. In cities, the increase in the population and the development of the economy cause many problems. For this reason, ancestry fails to keep the unity together after some

time. Hence, new ways of solidarities are born. For example, religious solidarity originates in having same religious believes. Having same religion builds up strong solidarity (Uygun, 2008, pp. 44-45).

In Ibn Khaldun's world, ancestry or blood solidarity is the purest form of the *asabiyyah* but expecting a national and denominational solidarity would not be realistic (Uygun, 2008, p. 47). As civil umran takes the place of bedouin umran, resource and the form of *asabiyyah* departs from the ancient connection and leans on the other resources. When *asabiyyah* considered as a social power/solidarity, the idea of national and denominational *asabiyyah* will also be valid. At the times of Ibn Khaldun and in ages before, as well as nowadays, considering the life of rural and urban life as contrary is a fallacious way of thinking (Ülger, 2004, p. 97). Rural and city always feeds and enriches each other. However, they also want each other's wealth. Social unity and peace are based upon this tense line. Societies that can protect their *asabiyyah* in city life, value the equality, virtuous, and the governments of this societies will live long and live in prosperity. Power against the social disintegration is social solidarity and brotherhood.

As mentioned above, when considering modern societies with Ibn Khaldun, one needs the extremely attentive. The sieve of Ibn Khaldun can be too broad for some occasions and situations. Nonetheless some researchers like Gellner who studied nationalism and group dynamics, pick up where Ibn Khaldun left and continued to study. Taking advantage of the views of Ibn Khaldun, Gellner has subjected new constructions in modern societies to different readings such as national borders, national identity etc. Gellner reveals the overlapping points of *asabiyyah* with collective action and group consciousness (Malesevic, 2015, pp. 89-93). Another aspect needed to be attentive about when understanding *asabiyyah* of Ibn Khaldun is that it values 'change'. According to Ibn Khaldun, people and governments are not static outputs. Change is affective factor from politics to cities, from philosophy to governments (Kayapınar, 2006, p. 85). There is also another assumption here, if change exist in everywhere, it should exist in *asabiyyah* too. Ibn Khaldun have correctly analyzed the social changes and impacts, that he influenced the philosophers like Hegel, Marx and Durkheim (Mohammad, 1998).

Asabiyyah is historical, not natural. Hence, when *asabiyyah* falls apart, a new binder to keep society together is needed. As in modern days' flow and speed rate of information keeps getting more vital, media is very critical in terms of social integration and social cohesion. Before, during and after coup attempt, media affected *asabiyyah* both positively and negatively.

***Asabiyyah* During 15th of July**

As Ibn Khaldun pointed out, humans exist as society. It is also societies, whom is embodied (not homogenically) around certain rules and understandings that will introduce the structure that can resist against coups and occupations. Even if they are not bounded around same ancestry, people only sacrifice their belongings and live for the society they live in, and the freedom they have. What Hassan established for cognate communities can also be indicated for the modern societies.

There is no practical difference in organising, common action and having same 'excitement' between different *asabiyyah*'s; *asabiyyah* that rises from having same ancestry and *asabiyyah* that

rises after bounding like having same ancestry. People can act like relatives after gaining collective movement power (Hassan, 2010, pp. 199-200). This is very important observation for understanding the July 15, 2016 Coup Attempt in Turkey. As mentioned above, people defended themselves, others and their freedom as if they are related, with having same excitement towards same thing. If *asabiyyah* is established once, its collective action power does not change even if it is originated around different sources.

Ibn Khaldun, stated that reaching a certain level of cooperation and solidarity would be necessary as a precondition for the welfare of a community. For him, main source of prosocial attitudes is biological, in tribes and same family boundary, but the scope is extendable to people who are familiar without family ties, who share socialization. However, the farther group solidarity is extended, the more unstable and weaker it gets (Gierer, 2001, pp. 91-104).

Asabiyyah represents a dynamic power that appeared during the process of transition from nomadism to settled life style. This power enables governments and civilizations to be build. *Asabiyyah* is strong because societies unite against hardship and scarce sources, but with settled life *asabiyyah* begins to disintegration. When prosperity causes prodigality, individuals who identify themselves with societies, leans towards on self-interest. According to Ibn Khaldun, this deterioration ends with another *asabiyyah*'s birth and occupation of the possessions. Then a new age comes along. But this situation of the 14th century is extremely rare when comparing to modern day's nations and governments settlement. Instead, government establishes another *asabiyyah*s inside itself and this causes power struggles. It is possible to read FETÖ and July 15 with this aspect. People that go out the streets for their values and freedom are the force that mobilized the weakened *asabiyyah* and government. A street would not just be a street in a literal sense from then on. Another distinctive characteristic of *asabiyyah* is that it lets leaders to lead but none the less it excludes the hierarchy. Leader, manager, warden, chief is a need in both nomadic and settled societies. But after the gaining the property or establishing the government, these people have to institutionalize themselves and they have to constitute their *asabiyyah* based on religious/denomination/ideology rather than ancestry. Government has to move on with another *asabiyyah* than ancestry. Ibn Khaldun indicates the loyalty to intendants. It is possible to interpret this as a commitment to the state and the governments who is the head of the state, and it is possible the separate this two. Because, on the contrary to 14th century, possession is not gathered into the body of one ruler. (Uygun, 2008, pp. 46-47). What matters is also not management affairs, is being unite and having common objective. As July 15 experience demonstrate, people that believed the need of being unite in same land went out the street with encouragement of their executives and protected their government with assuming that the gun pointed to them are also pointed to their government. Citizens that never seen each other from Ankara to Elazığ and Edirne, put forth their lives for the unity they established.

Media Contents Which Motivated *Asabiyyah* in 15th of July

Having been in the state for nearly forty years, FETÖ started to find supporters through religious preaching, and with the help of the books which contains Fethullah Gülen's speeches about Said Nursi.

Especially after the Coup of September 12, 1980, FETÖ facilitated its activities in many fields (mainly education), diversified interests, strengthened in religious institutions, and expanded the network of supporters through religion. At the same time, using media actively, it was able to put pressure on parties and governments. Making use of this power, it increased the strength of its international lobby activities. Members of this structure, using the power the state has given to them, unquestionably implemented the instructions of the organization leader against the state. FETÖ did not hesitate to engage in all kinds of illegal activities to directly take over the state. Finally, the organization, trapped in the corner with organized operations trying to seize the state authority itself, carried out a final overthrow of the collective action of the other members of the army on July 15, and did not hesitate to bombard the parliament and public buildings of the country as well as to slaughter its civilian population in order to be successful.

The organization captured the media in very first hours of the coup attempt, and left it silent, but read a statement from the state television TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) as if it were in the classical military coup in the past. The language bracket of this declaration was designed to gain sympathies of the secular, Kemalist and NATO supporters of the country and to prevent any possible resistance. The fate of coup attempt changed at times when warplanes flew low in order to intimidate people in Ankara and Istanbul, where the Bosphorus bridge was closed and armored vehicles occupied the streets in battle position; the President, the Prime Minister, and some army commanders called citizens to save their democracy and to prevent their freedom from FETÖ and small junta in Turkish Army by using the mainstream media. In fact, this moment was the moment when the democratic structure of the country was also tested. A junta tries to overthrow the government by using the means provided by the people's taxes. While groups of people sacrificed their lives to react to this, while another group remained silent.

Political developments were the fastest way to create the media-like hashtags on Twitter. Intensive propaganda was launched in the face of the armed soldiers who massacred the people, inhumane resistance to those who insulted them, thus supporting the coup attempt. Some even touted religious officials on July 15, during the reciting of the *sala*, one of the most important events that increased the strength of the resistance and broke the hope of the coup plotters. On the day of July 15 and afterwards, the following images, especially on Twitter and Facebook, were frequently used together with some manipulative content, and a kind of perception management was initiated to break the resistance to the military coup attempt and to psychologically damage the superiority of this resistance after the coup.

Methodology and Findings

The semiotic analysis which is frequently used to identify the activists in the narrative and to examine the relations between the activist and the action (Günay, 2002, p. 85) is the method of this study. Barthes was the one who provided a systematic model for analyzing the semantics of interactive meaning. At the center of Barthes's theory is the idea of two levels of meaning (denotation and connotation). The denotation indicates the apparent meaning of an indicator. The connotation is

the secondary level of meaning. Barthes argues that connotation is the main way of communicating the ideological meaning of mass media. The denotation means more sub-order systems and more or less the true meanings of the signs. On the other hand, the semantic meaning is associated with some sort of upper language. Connotation describes the interaction that occurs when the indicator meets the emotions and cultural values of the users.



Image 1. Torture Photographs of Junta Soldiers on the Bosphorus Bridge which is frequently used in the Social Media.



Image 2. Photo circulated in the social media with the claim of the soldier's head cut off. ("Isn't there anyone who feels more pain in this photo than me?")

When the images are examined in the context of the relationship between the plain meaning (visible) and the side meaning (the true meaning behind the appearance) developed by Roland Barthes as a semiotic method of analysis, the visual meaning of the Image 1 is that the soldiers in the plain meaning bridge are beaten by the civilians, barbarian, enemy of the soldier, head-cutter ISIS terrorist image. When the tweet and photo are carefully examined, it is understood that this photograph is a manipulation material. Because the camouflage on the soldier is not the camouflage used by the Turkish Army. Also, when the photograph is scanned with Google's reverse image scanning application, it can be easily understood that the photo was taken elsewhere and at a time. However, the aim is to provoke the Turkish nation's sympathy with the military and to undermine the resistance against the military coup. Some of the soldiers involved in the coup attempt, especially the soldiers who closed the Bosphorus Bridge, did not hesitate to kill civilians who reacted to them. However, it can be described as a counter propaganda to publish photographs of manipulative photographs, or to distribute photographs of civilian citizens in social media who are beating soldiers after they have surrendered (Image 2). Specifically, the day after the coup attempt, these kinds of tweets became widespread and the resistance of the people who opposed the junta to death was tried to be humiliated by such shares. When we look at the denotation in Figure 2, it is seen that the soldiers were beaten with a belt and this action took place under the control of the cops. But in connotation it is seen that there is a meaning that the police neutralize the soldiers with a hit. This reinforces the rhetoric of a "coup under the control of the government", which is frequently expressed by the opposition for July 15. In particular, a photograph in which the soldiers were beaten in a passive protection position to avoid being beaten has an agitation effect for a society that sympathizes with the army and soldiers.

Indeed, the government opposes some politicians, journalists and others. He has often used this discourse. There are no images of these soldiers, who are beaten up in this photo, lining the civilian population before photographing. In this photo, there is no photograph of a woman who was killed by a junta soldier with the command given by the commander in front of them, who came to convince them of the body of a motorcyclist who had been torn by a tank shot or unarmed. But this photograph which was viral in the social media, especially twitter, was sufficient enough to portrait the people who were resisting to the occupation of the country, as a barbarians The second image in the visual has the same plain / semantic relationship with the previous one. This photo was also published on Twitter under the headline *NeDarbeNeDiktatörlük* (Neither the coup nor the dictatorship), but unlike the title in the sense of the line between the coup plotted against the victim, people who resist the coup was used to show a cruel purpose.

In fact, it is a fact known that most of the military conflicts in the world are carried out by the CIA and are supported by NATO, with the aim of destroying the independence of nation states for strengthening the power of global hegemonic powers (Abrahamian, 2013). On 15 July, planes refueled in the military base of NATO based in İncirlik, bombed the National Assembly and took hundreds of civilian lives. If the coup attempt had been successful, a civil war could take place and the country would easily be invaded by outside forces.

On the other hand, the mass, aware of the fact that it is an attempt against the will of the people, has exhibited a complete example of irritability and has been organized through social media before the

President and other officials have spoken on television. Until the TRT bulletin was read on Twitter, the headlines #DarbeyeHayır, #AtaturkHavalimanı, #VatanCaddesi were opened and the city squares were prevented from being captured by the junta. The cops clashing with juniors demanded that citizens should not leave the streets, stating that they took their power from their citizens. The president has shown to the television that he is alive and safe, and his citizens are calling for resistance and people from all occupations have come out of the squares and prevented the coup attempt from succeeding at the expense of their lives. The following images have been passed down as symbolic photographs of this resistance.



Image 3. National Assembly Right After The Military Coup Attempt

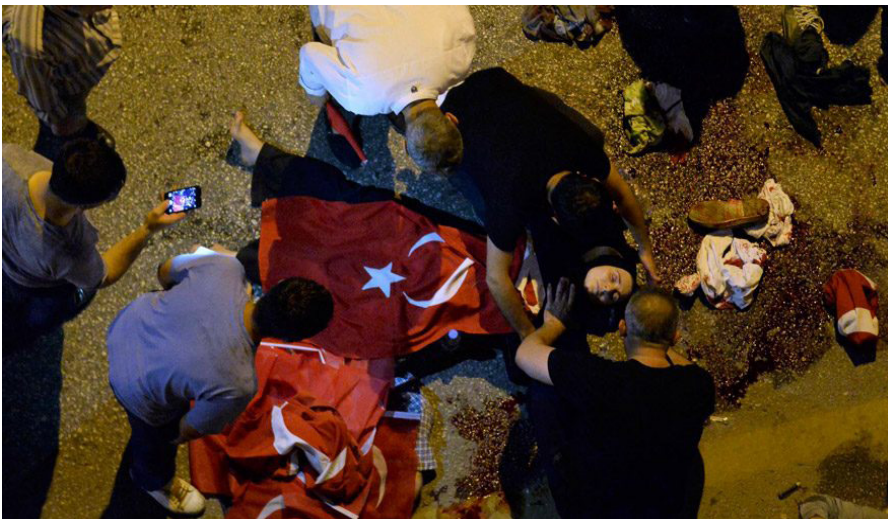


Image 4. The Woman Opened Fire By The Junta Soldiers On The Bosphorus Bridge

Image 3 is one of the symbolic photographs of the July 15th resistance. Turkey's National Assembly which 'ghazi' title given because of its management in Turkish Independence War bombed for the first time in the history and junta soldiers did it without question. While denotation of the photograph shows, debris after the bombing, connotation shows us this attack was to the top of the government as it can be seen with the damage of cabinets and prime minister's chambers. As a matter of fact, Special Forces, Security General Directorate etc. public buildings were attacked as well. 62 police officers and 5 soldiers lost their lives as a result of these attacks. The meaning of photography is that the Office of the Prime Minister becomes unusable. In fact, it clearly shows the target of the military coup attempt. The Image 4 photographs belong to a citizen who is seriously injured, the result of the mass shootings made by the soldiers in Image 1. The photograph, taken by the people at his head desperately waiting, is the cover of the Turkish flag on the wound and on one hand, these people are recorded on the mobile phone and announced to other parts of the society. When the connotation analyzed in the photo; these two elements are the two distinct dimensions of the *asabiyyah*/group feeling that bet at the beginning of the work. In the first place, the tradition of covering the martyrs with the symbol of Turkish flag that the purpose of the resistance made to prevent the ending of the country to the indefinite period by striking the democratic structure of the country has been transformed into a ritual of national and religious belief which is covered with a woman who is seriously injured and waiting for the martyr. On the other dimension, the effort to make a social media announcement by registering on a mobile phone can also be given as an example of the dimension of solidarity. As is known, social resistance has been rapidly organized in social media, citizens have mostly taken news from social media and were organized accordingly to their directions. The announcement of the live event in Image 4 also caused the resistance to become stronger.

Conclusion

Ibn Khaldun states that the essence that affects the lifestyles of the societies by revealing solidarity cannot be explained only by the soul, but that soul is meaningful with action. The situation on July 15 is no different. People have come to the streets in the name of this common soul and have provided common action for their sense of partnership. Soul; a citation, an ideality, an action, the action ensures that its defense is acted on its behalf. So the spirit and the action complement each other. Hassan (2010) expresses that this is a form of behavior that is *asabiyyah* and that this behavior is collective (p. 194). Here, on July 15, the solidarity that unleashed the resistance that changed the destiny of the country is exactly the *asabiyyah* that draws the frame of Ibn Khaldun.

Ibn Khaldun's *asabiyyah* expresses much more than a restrictive, narrowing framework. It is not only a brotherhood relationship established with blood but a bond that is established and sustained in the sense that it is more meaningful and qualified than blood. As Sümer (2012) suggests, irritability can be a strong point of resistance between Turkey and the rest of the world, between states and publics in social demarcation (pp. 262-264). *Asabiyyah* does not constitute a biological structure in the sense of Ibn Khaldun; the opposite it is functional.

The history of the world is full of struggles for taking powers. Communities that are strong in this struggle are superior to others. According to Ibn Khaldun, this struggle is continuous and unavoidable. Societies are also affected by epidemic diseases, disasters and so on. They exhibit a struggle for existence with events such as war, occupation, genocide, various intimidation and assimilation that develop in a sudden situation or in a certain process. During this struggle, the groups that are strong in *asabiyyah* successfully pass these exams, while the weakest groups live in irreparable destruction. When we look at the history of the states established and demolished throughout history until the time of Turkey, the societies and states of such exams can understand the transforming power. When the Ottoman Empire, which ruled the three continents with the shake of the people's nervous affliction, has been destroyed, it gives us many messages about the kind and cause of *asabiyyah* and consequences as well as an *asabiyyah* that breaks the occupation with the understanding that "my son grows motherless but cannot grow stateless".

In countries like Turkey which can be easily affect by external interventions, social chaos are frequently experienced like ethnic, religious, ideological etc. Turkey is in the top position in the rankings of countries where fake news and information pollution is very common (Reuters Institute, 2018). Therefore, social media is very suitable for the spread of social turmoil and provocation. In such a case, to protect the soul of *asabiyyah* and to prevent information pollution, main stream media corporations, particularly public broadcasters like AA and TRT, should prevent information pollution very quickly. However, as experienced on 15th July, TRT and Turksat was the first target of the junta. In such a state, commercial media corporations and their social media accounts published information from the field and has called for resistance.

Turkey has given a very important test on July 15. People have already prevented the process that will actually lead to occupation of the country. In this, the commitment to the state, that is, the reason, reveals the power of *asabiyyah*. As in Turkey, both the natural disasters and the geography in which they live are a fundamental condition for the survival of the nobility of the group feeling in a country that is in a constant fire circle and that the state can survive forever. The necessary amelioration of the issues that weaken the bonds of *asabiyyah* in the society should be made and solved in a short time, by taking into consideration the changes, developments and relations in every layer of society, giving importance to the *asabiyyah* theory given to us by Ibn Khaldun seven centuries ago.

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